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for him, and named him Tu-ki-haka-he-vari (Curled-up-as-a-chicken-in-an-egg). He grew up and stayed with her at Hakarava. One day he asked the old woman, "Where is my father?" She replied, "There, where there is a dark cloud." Then the boy called to the people, "Make a litter to carry me to Tuu." This the people did and they accompanied him to Pare where he remained. Some died on the way, others died after they had returned to their homes, because of the mana of Tu-ki-haka-he-vari.

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Here, as in the preceding tale, the king's mana is so strong that it becomes deadly to those who carry him. Moreover, the king is carried on a litter; probably to prevent any contact between the ground and the mana embodied in him. This is the only hint of such a custom on Easter Island, but the attitude fits the Polynesian pattern of culture.

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TAPUS

The sacredness of the *ariki-mau* obliged both him and the people of lesser rank to subject themselves to a series of restrictions in their mutual relations. No one could touch any part of the king's body without running the risk of falling dead or of suffering severe pain. There is no doubt that the head of the king was the most sacred part of his person—so sacred that he was obliged to let his "hair grow without ever allowing the *mataa* (obsidian knife) to pass through it" (190, p. 360). The head of every man was more or less tapu (p. 103), but probably only the king's head was so sacred that the hair on it could not be cut. When the missionaries wanted to cut the hair of the little Gregorio, the last king of the island, "the child opposed it firmly and yielded only through force or fear." The anger was so general that "the hairdresser was on the point of being stoned when he achieved his work" (190, p. 360).

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The hands of the king were also tapu. The only activities permitted to him were making fishing lines and nets and fishing in canoes. The extremely contagious nature of his mana extended to all his belongings which were consequently tapu. "Their huts, their enclosure, their food, their entire persons and everything they used were tapu for other persons of both sexes" (190, p. 360).

It was not permissible to see the king or his son eat or sleep, and none but his servants who were noblemen (*ariki*) were allowed to enter his house. There were two classes of servants, the *tuura* and the *haka-paapa*. The first provided for the maintenance of the king, tilling the soil, gathering seashells, and fishing for him; and the latter attended the king in the capacity of valets and served his meals. A fragment of legend mentions only one *tuura* and one *hakapaapa*, but the informant who dictated the legend told me on another occasion that there were several of each class of servants, though he was not sure of the number. I am unable to tell what truth there is in Palmer's statement (168, p. 282) that next to the king there was a "prime minister, who was obliged to be a celibate."

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Several foods were tapu to the king. He could never eat rats and it is

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643 quite possible that the same tapu applied to the other members of the Miru
262 tribe (194, p. 242). The *mahore, kotea, pahika, teteme,* and *kahi* (tuna) were
784 the only fish allowed the king. The tapu on tuna fishing during the winter months (p. 173) did not apply to the king and a few noblemen. During the tapu period expert fishermen went to catch tuna in the king's boat which was called *vaka-vaero* and was decorated with cock feathers. All fish caught from the *vaka-vaero* were presented to the king, who kept them for his own use or, more often, distributed them among the important old men (*tangata-honui*). The first *kahi* taken after the lifting of the tapu in summer were taken to the king, who tasted a bit and gave the rest to the *tangata-honui*. The food for the king was strictly tapu and only the *haka-paapa* could touch it.

DRESS

643 The dress of the king was similar to that of any wealthy man. He wore
291 a beautiful tapa cloak stained yellow (*nua*) with turmeric and "feather hats
386 of various descriptions." From his neck, both back and front, hung six
301 wooden balls (*tahonga*) and six small wooden crescents (*rei-miro*) with
826 small shell tassels (*rei-pipipipi*) dangling from them. The only distinguishing physical characteristic of the sons of kings was an alleged growth of down under the eyes.

RESIDENCE

644 Nga-ara, the last king who died with full rank, had his headquarters at
764 Anakena, which is the most pleasant part of the island. This was the beach
533 chosen by the discoverers of the island for their king, Hotu-matua. There Hotu-matua landed and died. From that time on the bones of the kings and of the members of the Honga lineage were buried in the ahus which still surround the cove. Near them are to be seen the foundations of a school of chanters, in front of which people gathered to hear the recitations and chants. Modern natives are fond of this cove where hills dominate a long beach which slopes gently to the sea and where swimming is pleasant (pl. 1, *B*).

173 According to a tradition which I was unable to check, each new king went
644 to live at Ahu-a-kapu, near Tahai on the west coast. Later, when he had yielded his authority to his son, he went to ahu Tahai and then to Anakena where he spent his last years. Nga-ara was the only king who died in Tahai, and his remains were buried in the large ahu there. The young princes were raised in a village called Papa-o-pea, near ahu Ohau, not far from Ahu-te-peu. The literature on Easter Island contains only one allusion to the kings' changes of residence. However, Routledge (194, p. 279) has recorded a tradition in which Hotu-matua quarreled with his eldest son, Tuu-ma-heke, to whom he ceded his position and then retired to the top of the Rano-kao, where he lived on the southern side of the crater, opposite Orongo. Traditions

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connected with the ruins of Anakena prove that it was an important site and the one most closely associated with the memory of kings. There is no doubt that it was a royal residence, but with the present lack of knowledge, the frequent and obligatory changes of the king's home are inexplicable and will undoubtedly remain so. Perhaps such changes concerned only a few kings of historical times and cannot be generalized.

SUCCESSION TO POWER

A king resigned his power in favor of his first-born son when he married. My informant, Juan Tepano, was positive about this fact which is confirmed by Roussel (190, p. 360): "The king resigned on the occasion of the marriage of his son, but his wedding could be delayed for a long time, since the custom of the country allowed him to marry only at an advanced age." This custom is similar to that in Mangareva where the chief yielded the rule to his son before his death. In the Marquesas, if Gracia's statement (91, p. 103) is correct, the eldest son of the chief took the title and rank of his father on the day of his birth while the old chief remained a sort of regent. In Tahiti, the child of a chief took the title and office of his father soon after birth; during the minority of the child the "father exercised all authority, though in the name of the child" (70, vol. 1, p. 260).

INFLUENCE OVER NATURE

The bearing of the king on the magico-economic activity of his people is shown not only in the influence of his mana on the welfare of the people but also in his power over nature. When King Tuu-ma-heke was born a new mollusk called *kovare* appeared in the sea. White chickens multiplied at the birth of King Rokoroko-he-tau. There is still a belief among the natives that a great many plants vanished from the island with the kings who controlled them. The favorite variety of sweet potato called *huatea* is no longer found on Easter Island for it could not exist without the king who made it grow, explained my informant. Since the kidnapping of Maurata and his family no tortoises have appeared on the shore.

The following chant celebrated the king's beneficent influence upon nature, especially on the sources of staple foods. The chant is here presented as reconstructed and retranslated by me with the aid of Tepano. It had formerly been transcribed freely and erroneously by Thomson (251, pp. 523-524).

What does the king make fertile in the country?
Mars comes up, appears in the sky. The king makes the shoots of the white sweet-potatoes grow in the country.
Now he makes the sweet-potatoes favorable, the sky favorable, the ancestors favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The crayfish, the *poopoo* fish, the conger eels, the *nohu* fish (*ape* fish?), the king makes fertile in the country.

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considered the motifs poor, he said to the unfortunate bearer, "Ka hoa ki ahu runga" (Go to the lower ahu). He criticised the form and size of the ear piercings and probably the ornaments worn in them.

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The king's interest in the reading of the tablets by the *rongorongo* men and his knowledge of the script is discussed later (pp. 390-391).

ROYAL INSIGNIA

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The legend of Rokoroko-he-tau (p. 130) tells how the people brought wreaths (*mukomuko*) and standards (*huhu*) to the first-born children of the king. Those who presented the first fruits to the young king Gregorio were accompanied by two files of boys holding branches of *hau*, peeled and stained dark. The symbolism of such ensigns is not known, but they were probably brought before the king as a token of respect. Natives still remember such sacred ornaments and tell how once each month the people went to Anakena to present the *ariki-mau* with *huhu* and *maru*. (Tepano insisted, however, that the presentation was made once a week.) My informant translated the word *huhu* as "standard" and described it as a pole with three to five small, red, white, or black sticks inserted into it. The ends of these sticks were decorated with cock feathers, and the top bore a long feather garland (*maru* ?). Similar ones are still made by the natives for trade. The *huhu* and *maru* were planted in the ground in front of the king's house and left there until they rotted. Standards, used as marks of honor and friendship, were carried before some of the early voyagers who landed on Easter Island (18, p. 128; 53, vol. 1, p. 281).

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Te Haha, who in his youth was attached to the court of King Nga-ara, told Routledge (194, p. 242) that " . . . if the people wanted chickens, they applied to the Ariki-mau, who sent him with *maru*, and his visits were always attended with satisfactory results."

POLITICAL POWER

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The king was not a ruler in the ordinary sense of the word. Roussel (190, p. 260) makes the following general statement concerning the king's influence in the political system of the island that seems to be very near the truth:

> In late times, although the kings were still surrounded with respect by the natives who considered their persons to be sacred, their authority was nil and entirely disregarded. It has passed entirely into the hands of the mata-toa [warriors] who decided everything and carried on the war without beforehand consulting his majesty.

Thomson (215, p. 473) states that the ancient government was an arbitrary hereditary monarchy. The king ruled over the entire island and was never involved in intertribal wars. "Disputes were settled by the king without regard for law or justice. No great homage was paid him and no tax was expected of the people."